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MESSAGE FROM XANANA GUSMÃO

I am going to approach, in this message, some relevant problems (...) so that after clarifying the same, we may place all our efforts around the only objective: INDEPENDENCE OF OUR COUNTRY! and FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE.

I - Autonomy or Independence ?

There may be persons worried , as they say with the total extermination of our people, if asked on this subject or when looking for an answer to this. Many minds may be concerned by the innumerable difficulties that surround the armed conflict in East Timor(...).And the considerations they may weave on war are taken from examinationmade of "The Present Events of South East Asia ". This "Present Event" is conceived in this aspects: - Indonisia does not leave this (= East Timor); - the countries of EEC, USA, Australia and ASEAN would accept Autonomy for East Timor, as " 1st Step"; - Portugal would back-up this solution with the purpose of preserving the Portuguese Culture.

How do these people conceive a "Special Autonomy" for East Timor ? According to what we found out, those who are enticed by this theory pretend to assert the following points, components of an (illusionary) process of autonomy: - in East Timor, Portuguese will be freely spoken; - In East Timor Tétum shall be spoken; in East Timor all the places would beaccupied by the natives; - in East Timor, the security would he handed to (murderers) the battalions 744 and 745; - in East Timor only catholicism, no islam or Protestantism. And these aspects could be synthetized in: - hystoric identity, by the possibility of speaking Portuguese, through which it would be preserve the "Sacred" inheritance of Portuguese colonialism;- Cultural identity, by the possibility of cultivating tétum, giving the population of EAST TIMOR the ilusion of being on the outside of the big Republic of Indonesia; - ethical edentity by the possibility of "travar"

the "transmigrasi" and thinking that the "gubernur" the"bupal", the "Comat" etc would only be people from Timor; - and to finalize, what should be essentially requested from Jacarta would be " Greater freedom of Circulation" for the "population", without speaking of the "ambicious projects of an economic autonomy". However, before answering these questions, let us approach other subjects that may clear our former considerations.

A - THE WAR IN EAST TIMOR

The war in East Timor is not a mere political revindication of a smaller or greater Autonomy, in the context of the Indonisian Nation. The war in East Timor is not a civil war, inside the State, to try and impose through armed forces (resistance), certain requests of a sector of population. (...)

East Timor is a province of Indonisia; is above all, a territory militaraly occupied for the last 10 years. The armed Resistance of the "FALINTIL", is only a violent demonstration of our peoples resistance: Resistance through arms, directed by FRETILIN, is only an aspect of popular resistance; and expresses the position of force of a national and patriotic conscience of all the "Sons of East Timor" ! The war in East Timor is therefore an adequate answer to the violence of the principles acclaimed throughout the Universe, that assure the population of East Timor the right to be free and Independent.

The annexation by force, of East Timor, is a violation to the principles that regulate the process of descolonization and the resolution 1514 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, that defends the referendum or the vote of an assembly elected by universal voting to determine the political future of colonial territory.

The continuous military occupation of East Timor is a violation to the Universal Principle and to the International laws that guarantees all people the right to autodetermination and National Independence !

The continuous illegal military occupation of East Timor is a treason to the character and spirit of the Non-aligned movement.

The continuous Indonisian military presence in East Timor and the cruel reprimand exerted on the maubere population is an incontestable desrespect

to the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nation, issued since 1975 and of the Security Council of the same year, and an ostensive challenge to International Public Opinion and to the Community of Nations.

In short, the criminal occupation of East Timor is a abusive violation to the Proclamation of the Human Rights, giving the maubere population the right to chose their own destany. (...)

By not placing conveniently the fundaments of our combat many people may succumb to the terrible idea that the population of Timor and only for the population of East Timor, the use of force can do more than reason and rights, the crime and injustice can overturn the determination of our people and that the maubere conscience can be bought by a few rupies, by cars or by illusions of "autonomy".

Those who are afraid of difficulties cannot truly understand the aspiration (longing) of our people; those who hesitate when difficulties arise, do not understand the strenght of our people and have not yet experienced the determination of our people ! Our people have been giving magnificiant lessons on this subject.

Our people resist because they reject the integration ! Our people resist because they want to live independantly ! Our people resist because they wish to be their own masters ! and our heroic people will continue resisting to reach the sacred goal: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

B - INDEPENDENCE, A RIGHT NOT DISCUSSED

1. Yes, Independence for the people of East Timor is a right not discussed, same as the independence from the Great Indonisian Nation is not discussed, same as the independence of all countries that today are part of the Community of Nations is not discussed. If this right exists, it is untouchable! If justice exists, let it be done ! (...) It is possible that justice is only done by employing force to subdue the weak ? Is it that the principles can be misrepresented, when a powerfully Expanding Nation does it ? Or is it that laws (rights) are only for the small and weak under submission to the strong and powerful agressor ? (...)

(...) the right of our people to their Independence cannot be object of discussion. It is A RIGHT, AND FOR IT, WE ARE READY TO PAY ANY PRICE !!!

We understand however, that the right of our people to independence, must respect the rights of the neighbouring countries. We understand, likewise that the rights of our people stop where the rights of our neighbouring countries begin. In this respect we agree in having discussions, there should be debates to safeguard the interests of each side and the rights of each.

We understand, dear youth and maubere patriots that for the geo-political insertion of East Timor, the independence of maubere people, cannot put in risk the peace and security of the neighbouring countries. We fully understand what this means - this means, that in East Timor, the political System in force cannot affect the interests of ASEAN, Australia and USA. We agreed, as East Timor is part not only of the world as, particularly of the area. With this purpose we have made known that we are prepared to undertake more responsibility, besides what was done in terms of allowing in East Timor the setting up of a Representative Democracy type of Government, in East Timor we suggested an ecomonic policy that not only will it allow foreign investments (manely Australia, Japan and ... Indonisia itself) in cooperation treaties such as, internally, the development of a mixed economy that in East Timor the political independence will be guided by the principles and features of the Non-Aligned Movement, rejecting any form of foreign domain.

We gave up concessions, of strategic caracter and therefore, with involvement on long term,with the purpose of safeguarding the interests be it of USA, Australia or ASEAN itself. We declared that we are prepared that it be assured, in political mechanism, the garantee that we contributed for peace and cooperation, for understanding and dialogue between East Timor and its neighbours

But people who think that an "Autonomy is possible, may say so: "but Indonesia does not accept ! But the free world is also not interested in an Independence of East Timor ! The EEC, the USA, Australia would see with good eyes a solution of "Autonomy", as a first step to preserve the identity, cultural, ethic and religious in East Timor.

Dear youth and maubere patriots, I am convinced that, in the presence of spectre of difficultiesthat denies the unalienable right of our people, we only have one choice: our total extermination so that Australia as well as USA, the West european countries and Portugal will be satisfied for having guaranteed the good economic relationship and ties of deep friendship that binds them to Indonisia. (...)

C - ARMED RESISTANCE AND POLITICO-DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE

(...) as said before, armed resistance is nothing but a violent expression of repudiation of our people to the colonial presence. Because Indonesia attacked us with hundreds of batallions and all its war armament, the people of East Timor were forced to armed resistance ! (...)

Hence, dear youth and maubere patriots, I am certain, (...) that you understood that its OUR PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR WHO FIGHT, that its the WHOLE POPULATION OF EAST TIMOR THAT RESIST THE BARBAROUS OCCUPATION OF OUR COUNTRY ! I am sure you know that the true caracter of the cruel repression of the occupants is the continuous popular rejection to foreign presence, and that you also understand that ARMED RESISTANCE, being the most important aspect cannot be detached of the resistance of our people, looking for its independence! (...)

1. The hesitators pretend only to see the difficulties in terms of Indonisian battalions that are always arriving in a rich expression we heard somewhere: "Continuous invasions ! Invasion of battalions continuously, of and continuous invasion of transmigrants ! Difficult, very difficult ..." - they add lamely, defeated, incapable.

Without understanding the belic and human power of the Indonisian invador and not understanding the continuous help offered them by the Western Countries to improve this power, allowing them greater capacity to exterminate the guerilla fighters and massacre our people, we confirm that the battalion never frightened us none neither the Beni Murdani threats. If East Timor War had to be appreciated only in the unevenness of forces, since long or, better, since 7th December 1975, wese should all agree that the defeat was there only.

I believe, ten years after this fatidious day and after sucessive operations, carried out in these last 7 years to exterminate the guerilla compaigns that always failed, we can assure that it will not be easy for Indonisian battalions, who continuously invade our country to exterminate the FRETILIN FIGHTERS! (...)

We know that we are not capable of expelling the occupants, by arms, but also assure that it will not be easy for Beni Murdani to reduce the FALINTIL to powder with his battalions ! (...) And only in dialogue an it be discussed and settled how East Timor can contribute for peace and stability in the region or, in other words, how can respect to the interest of neighbouring countries be guaranteed at the same time that its guaranteed to maubere people its legitimate right. (...)

III - END OF CONFLICT

"An honourable Peace" is mentioned for the conflict of East Timor (...) an Honourable Peace" would imply in its turn, subjection of our people to the agressive, expansionist and genocide imposed by Jacarta ' who desires this " honourable peace " ?.

According to " reliable sources", we may think that in the first place is Portugal, trying to find a way out of this problem with its honour safeguarded.

Australia would also leave with its part of honour (...) Already Mr. Bob Hawke suggested, last August, that Indonesia should find a way to legitimate the annexation formulating it as "Peoples Desire" (...) will assure the honour of having guaranteed the natural oil and gas exploration (that is ours) '(...)

And as for EEC, an "honourable solution" (subjection of the people of East Timor) would avoid trouble with Indonisia (...) And as for USA, we are afraid of saying whatsoever, just not to hear them say continuously that we are communist! (...)

The silence, the indeference from everyone is a reneral tone, even so it does not frighten the maubere population ! Suharto's (murderer) visit to the East European countries, the recent economic agreements between Jacarta and Moscow, the support given by Yugoslaviato Indonisia in Luanda, all these are world

condemnation that weighs on the people of East Timor ! The maubere people are surrounded by an immense ocean of interests that should be protected, of hounours that should be safeguarded ! (...) an honourable solution (...) its not the whole world bowing to Jacarta's wishes, (...) an "honourable solution or an honourable peace should come from dialogue, in which the points should be set right to guarantee peace for everyone ! (...)

(...) For the last 10 years the people of East Timor are fighting alone without outside aid * in the same 10 years marked with millions of dollars of military help from Australia, USA and some European Countries.

The East Timor population needs (...) help from all countries for its joust cause, it evidently requires to appeal for help of all who can make pressure on Jacarta to change its attitude, in favour of Universal Principles.

We reject the idea of looking upon the FIGHT FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR on strategic prism of the interests of Super Powers (Nations).

The tension East/West are muffling the sacred objective of our people, who only wish for their Freedom and Independence. The CRRN is ready to assure commitments with this intent, that the dialogue be started with the representants of East Timor people, having in view a just and correct solution, that should guarantee what everyone desires: peace and stability in the area 8 (...)

Portugal and Indonisia are going under the auspices of UNO to the 2nd.phase of the conversations to discuss "political problems" (...)

Its easy to foresee that the discussions of "political problems" on agenda for the 2nd. phase between Portugal and Indonisia,will only be a screen to present to the world the acknowledgement of military annexation of East Timor by Indonisia, annexation that will be considered as "fait accompli" (as the irregular forces of FRETILIN" are going to be defeated"), of "legitimacy" (because the Indonisian regular forces withold an occupation of 10 years), of "legality" (because international complicity has made it possible) and of "peoples wish" (because the intolerable and cruel repression on our people will simply and purely be forgotten). If the General Secretary of UNP also abandons the universal principles only because the EEC countries, Australia USA and others wish so, the conversations between Portugal and Indonesia on "political problems" will be the right road to authenticate the genocide practiced by Jacarta.

Dear youth and maubere patriots for what reason to they say " The cause of East Timor is a lost Cause ? " I believe that you all, we all, can see that what is behind this statement is lack of interest from these countries to move a finger in favour of our people, in defense of universal principles, in accordance with the international standards; what is behind this is exactly the interests of these Governments in defending Indonisia in its heroic effort to exterminate the maubere people, because this genocide is a condition " sine guanon" to maintain good relationship with Jacarta ! (...)

If the General Secretary of UNO does not consider the appeals made by countries, entities and organizations of different natures, to include in the conversations representants from East Timor, relatively to the subject concerning it, UNO wil- only manifest incapacity to solve the problem, in accordance with the principles that guide this Organization. And UNO will place itself on the side of the strong,of the agressors, rejecting its own reason of existance! If the General Secretary of the United Nations continues the (...) exclude the East Timor Population from the conversations, we think that we have good reasons to be worried, since UNO has not given any sign that it can give or pretend to give the real meaning of "Interested parts". Also, because of this dubious position of UNO not only takes us to believe the an "accepted solution" by the International Community can disband for integration under "autonomy" (...)

IV - POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF EAST TIMOR

(...) The church of East Timor and in the long Captivity of our people, has been a security harbour in this wave of crime and violation of all type,has been the moral support in our peoples fight, has been the precious hand who zllrvizte the pains of our people in its heroic resistance to the vile and coward Indonisian aggression and to its criminal military occupation of our country.

The clergy of East Timor has shown that it has deep knowledge of our peoples suffering, of our peoples longings (aspiration), and of our peoples determination ! this happens because the church lives among the people ! (...)

And we are sure that both Monsenhor Filipe Belo and the prelate of East Timor will continue its courageous battle for the rights of our people. We take this opportunity to request from Rev. Mons. Filipe Belo and the Prelate of the diocese of Dili to, in spirit of a redeeming Church, continue sending

to the churches throughout the world the message of our peoples suffering; to continue appealing from other Churches a more significant position with the purpose of not allowing the extermination of our people. (...)

Its with gratitude that we learned that His Santity the Pope João Paulo II continues praying for our people of East Timor, and prayingis the only source for us, we had to take to arms to free ourselves from the foreign oppression ! The Christian laws of peace and justice, of freedom and democracy, give to our people resistance a moral and political force which will accompany them till they meet their objective ! We appeal to his Santity to interced by the Western Governments, namely, Australia, to have a look on their attitude towards the martyrdom of East Timor population (...)